



THE JOURNAL STANDS IN FAVOR OF EXPANSION AND OPPOSED TO IMPERIALISM.



THE APPROACH OF THE UNIVERSAL TRUST.

In Friday's Journal appeared a map which, to those who could read its meaning, was portentous. It showed some of the principal railroad lines to be controlled by the new Vanderbilt-Rockefeller combination, together with the centres of industry dominated by the associated trusts.

The railroads covered the entire United States. Gridironing the Eastern States, they threw out their lines across the deserts and mountains, along the routes of the Great Northern, the Northern Pacific, the Union Pacific and the Southern Pacific to the Western coast, where they ranged up and down the entire slope, from Los Angeles to Seattle. They bound together the Atlantic and the Pacific, the Great Lakes and the Gulf of Mexico; they paralleled the internal waterways, crossed both our land frontiers and touched almost every important city in the Union. "In Winter," it was said, "transcontinental traffic could be handled in great part by Southern lines, thus saving much for operating account." Thus the currents of a nation's life could be swung from one section to another by a little group of capitalists, as a similar group swings the shopping and theatre traffic on a city's street car lines, and communities would flourish or wither as their masters spoke the word.

But that is only the beginning. At Buffalo were shown the elevators by which the Vanderbilts and Rockefellers controlled the movement of the nation's wheat crops. At Cleveland converged the Rockefeller oil and iron ore interests. In Western Pennsylvania were the oil wells controlled by the Standard Oil Company, and the gigantic iron and steel industries ruled by the various steel trusts. In West Virginia and Indiana were more oil wells, and in Alabama iron mines. In Cincinnati and Louisville were distilleries, breweries and tobacco warehouses belonging to the Whiskey, Beer and Tobacco trusts, in which the Rockefellers are interested. In Peoria were thirty-six more distilleries of the Whiskey Trust. In Michigan and Minnesota were Rockefeller iron mines.

All these are only a few of the fortresses of commerce occupied by the new dictators of America. Almost every strategic point in the Union contains a Rockefeller-Vanderbilt garrison.

Consider what this means for independent business. In any productive enterprise the producer must first get his raw material; next he must bring it, together with his fuel and accessories, to the point of manufacture, and then he must ship his finished product in all directions to the consumers. Suppose he

is making structural steel. Under the old methods, which are assumed as the normal ones by the orthodox works on economics, he buys his steel billets from another manufacturer, who, in turn, has bought his pig iron from a smelter and paid freight charges to a railroad for its transportation. The smelter has bought his iron ore from a mining company which has paid royalties to a mine owner and freight charges to another railroad.

The steel manufacturer buys coal from another mining company, which ships it to him over still another railroad. When he has made his beams and angles he sends them to his customers all over the country by scores of different routes, paying whatever freight charges are exacted of him on each.

When the trust goes into steel manufacturing it uses its own steel, made from its own iron, brought from its own mines over its own railroads or in its own ships. The ships themselves are built in its own yards, the railroad cars in its own shops, and the rails over which they run in its own mills. It sends its products to its customers over its own transportation routes, and handles their drafts in its own banks.

The independent producer has to take the chances of the markets on both sides. When he gets an order he has no certainty that he will be able to fill it without ruin. His profits may be wiped out by a rise in the price of materials, and if he has protected himself by contracts there, he may be crushed by an increase in freight rates. Or a rate war may catch him heavily stocked up at high prices and give his competitors a chance to cut out his trade.

The trust takes no risks. It operates on a sure thing. When it books an order it knows exactly where to lay its hands on everything needed to carry it out, and it knows that nobody can intercept its profits before it collects them.

In the face of such advantages competition becomes ridiculous. The ordinary small manufacturer, the man who was the mainstay of American industry fifty years ago—the one with a capital of half a million or a million dollars—is, of course, not to be thought of in such a connection. But even the capitalists who count their wealth in millions are helpless in the presence of the billionaire combination that controls all the means of production, transportation and distribution. Such a trust must be the real government of the United States until the people dethrone it by taking its powers into their own hands.

THE JOURNAL'S POSITION ON EXPANSION.

New Haven, Conn., Sept. 21, 1896.
W. R. Hearst, Prop. New York Journal:
Dear Sir: I was one of the contributors (on the 9th of October, 1896, I believe) to the Journal's campaign fund in 1896. I have been a constant reader and admirer of the Journal ever since, hoping all the time that it would indeed prove itself "An American paper for the American people." I am sorry, therefore, to note the stand you have taken on "expansion." Expansion on the continent of North America is in direct line with "manifest destiny," but expansion in Asia is a thing that Thomas Jefferson never dreamed of even, and the Journal in advocating such a course is running contrary to the wishes of the common people.

In conclusion, let me tell you that Mr. Bryan is a much shrewder judge of what the masses in America want than any of the many advisers who surround you, because he is nearer to them. Be a little more radical and a little more moderate, Mr. Hearst, and, above all, get down to the level of the masses. Very truly,
F. H. BURYSON.

It gives us pleasure to answer any one who, though he differs from us in policy, presents his views so courteously, and we will endeavor to reply with equal consideration. The Journal is "An American paper for the American people," and it is for everything that it believes to be to the advantage of the mass of the people. The Journal is also a Democratic paper and is for what it considers the best interests of the party. We advocate expansion for both of these reasons. It is good Americanism because it increases the power and prestige of the country. It is good Democracy because it brings about a condition that will offer increased opportunity to the masses. We are distinctly the gainer by our advent into the arena of world politics. It awakens a spirit of confidence and pride at home. It adds to the respect in which this nation is held abroad. Expansion will open new markets to our products. It will offer new fields for investment of capital and for individual effort. It is possible, too, the Journal may be right and its opponents wrong. Such situations have occurred before.

No paper ever published was so much blackguarded as the Journal for supporting Bryan in '96. Yet all the leaders of the party and all the newspapers of the party are turning to Bryan to-day. No paper ever published was as much assailed as was the Journal for demanding the Spanish war, but it would be

difficult to find any one to-day who would complain of the results of that war. The Journal has been right on several occasions in spite of violent opposition. So it is just possible it may be right this time.

It is true that Thomas Jefferson did not specifically advocate expansion in the Philippines, but he did advocate a course as radical as that in his day and he met with the same opposition, and almost identically the same arguments were used in opposition to his policy.

Mr. Jefferson advocated the annexation of Cuba and he wanted to see the American flag wave over the whole of South America. In those days the small Americans pictured the evils of expansion as applied to the acquisition of the territory of Louisiana. They were fearful of the experiment. They maintained that we were practically annexing a wilderness stretching to the Pacific, peopled by savages and filled with unknown terrors. The debates in Congress were most violent and denunciatory of the dangers of expansion. But Mr. Jefferson, with that broad statesmanship which looked beyond the narrow needs of the day, brushed aside the timorous and the time-serving, and his courage and judgment gave us a splendid domain. He was a true expansionist.

The Journal is in favor of expansion, but its columns are open to those who oppose it. Mr. Bryan has sent his ablest arguments against expansion to the Journal exclusively, and they have been cheerfully printed. This newspaper is a forum for the discussion of public questions. It welcomes fair, courteous, intelligent opposition to its views.

The Evidences of Christianity.

By Professor John D. Quackenbos.

Professor John D. Quackenbos, of Columbia College, has just issued a book on the claims and evidences of Christianity. The following, taken from the closing chapter, contains what Professor Quackenbos advances as the undeniable proofs of the truth of Christianity.

Be ready always to give an answer to every man that asketh you a reason of the hope that is in you.—St. Peter, iii., 15.

ON the principle that, as intellect has in this day so much more to do with Christian belief than mere feeling, every Christian should have some presentable theory of his faith. It would seem wise to exhibit cardinal results and all-satisfying convictions for your serious consideration. And this is all the more important because so few who bear the Christian name and who believe in the Bible simply because their parents once told them that it is the word of God, are at all capable of advancing any rational reason for their belief.

If what may be said shall have the effect of stimulating personal research on your part, leading you, in accordance with the advice of King Solomon in Ecclesiastes vii., 25, to apply your hearts "to seek out wisdom, and the reason of things, and to know the wickedness of folly, even of foolishness and madness," and, I may add, of spiritual insensibility and agnostic indifference, I shall feel that God has blessed my unworthy, but sincere efforts. In the cause of truth.

Incontestable evidences of revealed religion other than attested miracles, which have already been considered, are to be found:

1. In the fulfilment of predictive prophecies.
 2. In the spiritual victories of Christianity.
 3. In the debt of the world to the Christian religion.
 4. In subjective personal conviction.
- You will remember that the Galilean carpenter first told to a trembling group of unlettered and uneducated disciples, in the face of the blackest outlook, the ultimate triumph of his religion as a world faith. Nearly nineteen hundred years have since passed, years signalized by spiritual victories that stamp such an announcement for the future as a prophecy. For never was conflict so unequal; a handful of unlearned paupers arrayed against the Roman Empire, fearlessly forcing a new issue, even salvation through the sacrifice of Christ, and convincing the great truth of the Jewish scriptures

that there is but one God. And what a world their Gospel was launched in! Christianity comes upon the scene to win its treasures from this cesspool of depravity, teaching its lessons of forgiveness and self-control, impressing its touch of love on the ruffian of the arena, and even on the heart of the Pretorian soldier, who kneels to its new God. In the flames of the stake torch, under the teeth of the lion, and on the horns of the arena, amid the stench and typhus of the Mammoth prison, at the shambles of Diocletian, where the weapons of the executioners were dulled by the multitude of martyrs and commissioned butchers sunk exhausted to the sand, she ever uttered her divine message, peace on earth, good will to men. From every persecution she emerged with renewed strength, until at last she saw the fabric of pagan mythology shattered; Caesar, the Senate, the Roman people, the iron legions—power such as eye of man had never beheld nor mind of man conceived, subdued by her persuasive art; and she rose under Constantine to imperial sway. Is it conceivable that a faith without supernatural support and direction could have passed through so fiery a trial and accomplished such a result, the intellectual and moral conquest of the Roman world? We are justified in asking, "Of what is such a faith incapable?" The Christian Church is a greater miracle than the Jew. It lives, it thrives, it ever extends its dominion, it educates, it exalts, it comforts in misfortune and sorrow, it insures in the hour of death. Can this Church be rooted in myth, or fiction, or imposture? And then another evidence of Christianity in its victories over individual character, its transfiguration of personalities who know no law beyond their own passions into personalities of opposite traits, dominated by spiritual purpose. Nowhere, perhaps, is this more impressively illustrated than amid the realism of the Roman amphitheatre, when, in response to the cry of "Christians to the lions!" victims flaming with fever, human prey with cyanotic lips and clammy hair were dragged from the dripping dungeons of the Esquiline and thrown to famished wild beasts; when Christian virgins were ravished by gladiators and hurled into the dizzy melody of striped and tawny carnivores, while emperors, surrounded by lewd eunuchs and prostituted vestals, looked on and

jeered. Amid this dream of hell Christ reigned supreme in the souls of those He called upon to suffer for His name. An earthly calm came into their hearts, a holy radiance illuminated their faces, they saw as it were the smile of their Redeemer, and, counting as naught the physical anguish, they cried, "O, Christ, Thy will be done." It was this that filled the onlookers with terror, this sustaining power imparted by a mighty God in the quivers of the death agony. And the same spirit is abroad in the world to-day, and would empower men and women again should the demand be made upon their faith, to hang upon crosses in amphitheatres and blaze in pitch-steeped turrets for the sake of their Christian belief. Loyalty to Christ does exist.

The ideal man of this age is the Christian man—that true embodiment of all that is pure, refined, tender, dignified, consistent, humane, self-forgetting, noble, chivalric. His kindly manners, his cheery conversation, his courteous welcome, his hearty Godspeed, his delight in comforting and helping and bestowing little kindnesses and lifting better up to best, are but the legitimate fruits of his Christianity. His sincerity rebukes the barbaled fustian of a recent writer on altruism, "Everybody is insincere in civilized countries." Think of it. Christian character must have consistency, the lower than which there is nothing so rare, and, I may add, nothing so unpopular. There is no caste in his Christianity. History reminds us that at the festival of Christ's birth, the gay day of all the year, the proud baron of the Middle Ages opened his hall to his vassals and stooped to the meanest serf in friendly converse, while his sons danced with russet nymphs on the village green. All were brothers.

Finally, the crowning grace of the character made new by Divine love is spirituality, the diametric contrary of worldliness. How the free soul within us detests the worldling, the man or woman in whose eyes sacred friendship has only a money equivalent; who, as Voltaire described him, "sweeps the orange and throws the rind away;" who, when you only for what can be got out of you, and on the first opportunity returns your disinterested kindness with injuries that are redoubtable. This is the spirit of the world; but spirituality sees the eternal value of things, recognizes the touch of heaven in the commonest objects

of earth, moves in an atmosphere of sympathy and love, and is sensitive to obligations that away among angels. Such spirituality no infidel can argue away. It is the imprint of Christ's own hand, and as such is the strongest character evidence that one may ask for the truth of revealed religion.

But, while admitting the character-transforming powers of our faith in certain instances, some will urge that Christianity is disproved by the fact that atrocious crimes have been committed in its name, that it has authorized orgies of blood; that it has poisoned the consecrated wafer to make way with objectionable persons at the celebration of the Eucharist; that it kindled the fires of Oxford, and of our own Salem; that it has warranted sharp practices, theft and adultery on the part of its emperors, that it winked at the expenditure of seven hundred million dollars annually in this Christian land for soul and body killing alcoholic beverages, compelling the appropriation of another seven hundred million dollars for the relief of the needy and the punishment of the crimes that result directly from the drink habit; that its selfish professors, though warned by the voice of medical science, deliberately refuse to limit the prevalence of preventable diseases by attention to a few simple hygienic precautions, and thereby are become the most insidious and heartless of assassins. There is but one answer to this objection. Christianity does none of these things. It cannot be held responsible for the acts of short-sighted or color-blind adherents who have mistaken its spirit and supplanted its precepts. The virtue of a remedy is not to be gaisaid if administered in improper doses or for the wrong disease.

The third general evidence of revealed religion is to be found in the progress of the human race through nineteen Christian centuries. Christianity furnished the educational energy that lifted mankind above the depressing influences of barbarism, and explains the condition of the world to-day. The loyalty to truth, the conformity to high ideals of duty and service, the aspirations and grand enthusiasm characteristic of modern life, reflect the vigorous personality of the Man of Calvary. Humanity did not civilize itself. Its unaided attempts invariably culminated in such a state of society as obtained at Babylon and Nineveh, at Thebes and Memphis, at Athens and Rome. When

left to himself, man has always degenerated, mentally and morally. Whereas intellectual brilliancy is seldom transmitted and genius never, vicious tendencies, as a rule, are. Such is the moral of all pre-Christian tales.

"But the same rehearsal of the past—First freedom, and then glory; when that falls, Wealth, vice, corruption, barbarism at last; And History, with all its volumes vast, Hath but one page."

Think for a moment what would result if Christianity, Christianized by the living Christ, completely dominated our modern civilization. There would be no need of laws, of courts, or of police protection; of jails, almshouses and reformatories; no necessity for standing armies and fleets of war ships. Taxes would be reduced to one-tenth of what they are. Poverty, drunkenness and prostitution would be swept away; industry, prosperity and a wifely life for all would take their place. Most of the diseases that afflict humanity would disappear. Death in youth or in prime of life would be exceptional; death from contagious maladies, unknown. Death by violence, which is largely, if not entirely, preventable, would be so rare as to excite the severest reprehension. So if, instead of inventing flimsy substitutes for the religion of Jesus Christ, men would honestly endeavor to carry out his principles of brotherly love and civic economy, a veritable moral and socio-political Utopia would immediately materialize. And this would mean permanence and progress, not retrogression; for the fruits of unattained Christianity once tasted would never be relinquished for the bitter clusters of Gomerah.

In conclusion, the strongest of all arguments for Christianity is the argument from Christian experience, that subjective conviction which springs from a personal acquaintance and communion with the Saviour, that sense of Christ within one through which he knows the realness of his belief with the same unswerving certainty that he knows his own existence. This cannot be shaken out of the believer in whose heart Christ dwells. He will die for it. Is there any agnostic or theosophist or man of science who is prepared to say here, tonight, I am ready to lay down my life for my way of thinking, for my belief—or unbelief—is more to me than human existence and all that human existence stands for? There is no illusion, no imagination,

no insanity about Christian certainty. The experiences of every follower of Jesus are too intimately bound up with Divine intervention and direction. Who of us in reviewing his life does not recognize the guiding hand of Providence at every turn in answer to his mother's prayers—the support in temptation, the rescue from overwhelming agonies of body and of soul, the reservation for achievements undreamed of and seemingly impossible? We Christians feel a Divine support unknown outside of Christianity in the history of man.

Have you this sense of God within you? If not, you are hardly equipped to discuss the problem with those who have, for there is no common ground on which you can meet them. I can only advise you who may be agnostic to make a personal experiment. Honestly try Christianity. Permit your souls to be touched by its sweet influences, to be waked by its call to the finer and deeper and nobler issues of life. I have no fear for the result; for I am confident that you will recognize a mysterious change in your motives and wills, with a sense of forgiven sins, as a genuine experience; I am sure that you will become conscious of a progress begun toward spiritual perfection; that eternity will seem truer to you than time, and that you will incline to look upon death as a swinging open of the gates of happiness.

A skeptical physician who attended a beloved Christian friend in her last illness and witnessed her holy departure, remarked to an acquaintance of mine, "After all, Christianity does not come too late." "Ah! my friends, to extend the inelegant metaphor, Christianity cuts all the ice that is cut in the chamber of death. Philosophy has no consolation to offer there; it tidily averts her eyes; agnosticism whispers, 'This is the end.' But in the beatific vision wherein the dying Christian beholds those heavenly things which it has not entered into the heart of man to conceive, and extends his hands to loved personalities that have gone before, and addresses them by name in affectionate conversation as the moment of dissolution draws near, we who stand by have surest proof of the presence of that sustaining Jesus to whom martyrs, summoned to the arena from the sepulcher prisons of Neroan Rome, cried with a holy joy, 'Lead us on, O Christ! to death and glory.'